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Report of the mayor and aldermen by the Chicago municipal markets commission on a practical plan for relieving destitution and unemployment in the city of Chicago. (Frederick Rex, 1005 City Hall, Chicago.)

Summary of the state laws relating to the dependent classes. (Washington: Director of the Census. 1915.)

Socialism and Co-operative Enterprises

Progressivism—and After. By WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING.
(New York: The Macmillan Company. 1914. Pp. xxxviii,
406. \$1.50.)

Mr. Walling is one of the few writers on socialism, whether within the movement or outside of it, who are not imprisoned by their own formulas, and who try to analyze the tendencies of the present rather than the catch words of the past. The present work is as fresh and thought-compelling as his previous discussions on the same general subject, and admirably supplements them. All alike reveal wide reading and intimate knowledge of current happenings, together with a power of keen analysis which brings order into the scattered facts.

Progressivism—and After is a study of social forces and party groupings, written from the standpoint of a rigid economic determinist. The scope of the survey is international, though more emphasis is placed upon United States developments than in the earlier works. Progress, according to Mr. Walling, comes only by class struggle. Here, however, orthodoxy ends. For he recognizes not merely two classes, capitalists and workers, but four, plutocrats, small capitalists, the skilled workers or aristocracy of labor, and the unskilled workers. Each of the latter three classes may combine with one or both of the others against a common foe, but all four have distinct interests; the solidarity of capital and the solidarity of labor are both myths. Each class triumphs in turn. The régime of the plutocrats, or capitalism proper, is fast crumbling under the assault of all the other classes. We are now entering the second era, state capitalism, or the régime of the small capitalist, manufacturer, shopkeeper, farmer. The features of this régime are state regulation or ownership of all the strategic industries, heavy taxation of large fortunes, and labor legislation which will bring about vast improvement in the lot of the workers, solely in the interest of efficiency and increased dividends. These sweeping reforms, which will be put through

by progressive or radical parties, will be primarily in the interest of the small capitalists, and will leave them in full control of industry; while bettering the lot of all the workers, they will increase not only the total amount of profits but their proportion relatively to wages. No policy, Mr. Walling continues, which does not increase the relative share of labors reward is socialistic, though it may be a necessary step toward socialism.

Next, the skilled workers, organized in labor parties of which the present Australian party is a forerunner, will become the chief power in politics, and will set up the régime of state socialism. The number of manufacturing industries operated by the state will increase very rapidly, farms will be owned and operated by the nation or state, the small capitalist will disappear with equal rapidity from the industrial field, and the great majority of men will become government employees. It will not be socialism in the true sense, however, since there will still remain a privileged class, the skilled workers, whose monopoly of the best-paid positions will be based on the difficulty which the masses of the unskilled will find in trying to train their children to fill these higher posts: not until free maintenance of students is added to free tuition will there be real equality of opportunity. This will come about in the last régime, socialism proper. The unskilled workers, by the use of economic weapons, general strike and sabotage, will force the upper classes to share power and privilege, or rather to abolish all class rule and class privilege in a state where at last all truly have an equal chance. This last stage may be expected to arrive in about twenty-five years from now, in the more advanced countries.

It will be seen that this forecast is a radical departure from the old Marxian position. The division into four classes; the coming, if temporary, triumph of the small capitalists, the middle class, long labeled doomed; the split in the ranks of labor; the contention that capitalism, instead of crushing the proletariat in ever more hopeless misery and degradation, will abolish poverty in the interest of efficiency; the criticism of contemporary socialist uncertainty and inconsistency as to the purpose and effect of the immediate demands which figure in the party platforms—these are all important and seemingly well-sustained heresies.

Yet Mr. Walling is a Marxist at bottom. He is an unfaltering believer in the economic interpretation of history, in its most rigid class-struggle version. The classes, the tactics, the date of the revolution are changed, but still it is only by class struggle that

progress comes, until at last economic Nirvana is reached. Is the amended theory tenable? In the first place, is economic class interest the sole primary driving power? In the midst of the European war, it is harder than ever to believe that race, for example, is not an equally primary force. True, individuals or classes may twist race prejudice to their own economic ends, but equally truly race passions may use economic weapons to gain an end. In seeking their economic interest, are men divided into definite and united classes? and, if so, what are now these classes? Mr. Walling's analysis of society into four distinct classes is ably done, but if labor splits into skilled and unskilled, what guarantee is there that skilled labor will not again split, that occupational or sectional cleavages will not become more marked, or skilled workers make common cause with employers in some industries? Do these classes, again, always know and always follow their interest? Is the selfishness of this resurrected Economic Man always an enlightened selfishness or class-feeling? Mr. Walling, in a very interesting chapter on Nationalistic Socialism, declares that today the skilled laborer has been swept away on the tide of imperialism, and that he joins in the demand for foreign markets, even at the cost of war. Assuming that the English or German workman is really induced to assent to jingo policies by economic motives, by a desire to secure foreign markets and colonial outlets even at the cost of keeping up huge armies and navies and of war itself, are we to assume also that he is enlightened in this stand, that the cheap fallacies of economic militarism have any solid foundation?

Why, again, is it inevitable that each class will triumph in turn, that each will have an era, if a brief one, to itself? The forecast of these successive stages has its flavor of Fourier, with his periods of civilization, guaranteeism, socialism, harmonism and what not, but it is more strictly a survival of Hegelian dialectic, an echo of the doctrine of the unfolding of the world by immanent necessity, of fated progress to a pre-determined goal. Each period belongs to one class; and to preserve the symmetry of the scheme no class is allowed to act, or at least to act effectively, until its own day has come. In the state capitalist period, for example, into which we are now entering, it is contended that advanced labor legislation is passed because of the capitalists' desire for efficiency—true in part, doubtless, but not true when urged to the exclusion of the humanitarian motives of the non-industrial classes, and the demands and growing political power

of the workers themselves. Again, the direct action campaign of the unskilled is postponed until after each of the other classes has had its day. Why the unskilled would be content to wait until that day, why their tactics would not be effective today, are not made adequately clear.

Given this trend of development, the need or possibility of a stronger socialist movement is not clear. The reforms of the next period, according to Mr. Walling, are to be carried out by progressive and other small capitalist parties, in their own enlightened interest. Given, further, the adoption of these sweeping progressive reforms, the abolition of poverty in the absolute and degrading sense, is it certain that there will be as much revolutionary zeal for further changes as Mr. Walling assumes? Will discontent survive and increase simply because, while the income of the poorer classes has tremendously advanced, the income of the richer classes has advanced still further? If the discontent does grow it is not the organized socialist party but the direct action of the unions that will give it expression, apparently. While adopting the syndicalist proposals as to the method by which the revolution is to be brought about, Mr. Walling does not look to having the society of the future organized along syndicalist lines; socialism is to differ from state socialism only in the universal equality of opportunity.

Most of these issues, however, can be decided only by the future. Mr. Walling has tempted fate by attempting to forecast development for a generation ahead, but whatever the future may have to say about his prophecies, students of economic and social affairs will be grateful for his fearless, acute, and suggestive analysis of the shifting and confused present.

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Die soziale Katholizismus in Deutschland bis zum Tode Kettlers.

By DR. ALBERT FRANZ. Apologetische Tagesfragen Heft 15.
(M. Gladbach: Volksvereins-Verlag. 1914. Pp. 257. 3 M.)

Of the three chapters in this book the first gives an account of the sources and beginning of the social reform movement in German Catholicism; the second tells of the early Christian social organizations in Germany; and the third reviews the social theories and activities of the warlike Bishop of Mainz, Freiherr von Ketteler.

The author traces the origin and inspiration of the movement to